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the universal adoption for the South as well as the North of our free labor system.

We need not say, for the fact is well known to our readers, that no man, according to his ability and opportunity, has, since April, 1925 more screnuously opposed the Aboltion movement in the Free States than we have; not because we boved Slavery, or had any sympathy with that buteful institution, but because we loved the Censtitution of the Union, and because we ledeved that liberty is home and throughout the world was far more interested in preserving the Union of these States uncer the Federal Constitution, than in abolishing Slavery as it existed in the Southern section of our coursen constitution, the number of the States and the best of the liberty, the cause of free institutions, the loopes of phisosty, the cause of free institutions, the loopes of phis but we believe, and always have believed, into the early, the cause of free institutions, the appear of phi-lanthropists and Christians, both at her and all ond, are more interested in preserving the total and the integrity of the nation, than they are on can be in maintaining negro Slavery. If we have opposed Abolition heretofore because we would preserve the Duion, we must, a fortion, oppose Seaver, in our judgment, its continuance compatible with the maintenance of the of our nation as a free republican State.

Certainly we said, in our last Review.

Certainly we said, in our last Review, the Borth has not taken up arms for the destruction of figure Slavery, but for the maintenance of the Federal Government, the enforcement of the way, and the preservation of the Union. This is true. The liberation of the Way is not the purpose and the end of the way is which we are now engaged. The way is a six a gener rebellion, an upprovoked and wicked satellion, engaged in by the Rebels for the purpose of making this a great slaveholding Republic, in which is bor of the country shall be performed by shies, either black or white; and if, to defeat the rebels in. either black or white; and if, to defeat to the destruction of Slavery be rendered and be actually effected, it will change been necessitated by the rebellion, and we Recels will have only themselves to thank for rice described or abolition they force us to adopt in selent of liberty, the Union, and the authority of the Cov-

The real question now before the The real question now before the as State not, whether the Rebellion shall be a case force of arms, or a peaceful division of the committed to. Any one who has any know; a of plans and purposes of the Rebels, know tell, the division of the territory of the United into tindependent Republics is far short of who they aiming at. The leaders of the Rebellion hay walking it they who have stirred it up. 10 arms. aiming at. The leaders of the Rebellica hey who planned it, they who have stirred it up, und armed it against the Union, have worked themselves into the conviction, that Slavery is not to be looked upon as an evil, under certain circumstances to be tolerated, but as a good to be desired, which religion and humanity require not only to be perpetuated, but extended the farthest possible. Their doctrine is, that liberty is not practicable for a whole people, that it is practicable only for a class or a race; and that Republicanism can subsist and be practically benefical, only where the laboring class is deprived of all political and civil rights, and reduced to Slavary. Their plan, their purpose is, the recony. Their plan, their purpose is, the reconwith this theory, not merely to cut themselves loose from all companionship with the non-Slaveholding States of the North and North-West. They propose to extend Slavery over the whole Union, and, in those States where negroes cannot be profitably employed as laborers, to reduce, perhaps gradually, but ultimately and effectually, to the condition of slaves the present class of free white laborers, who in the Free States are, to a great extent, Irish and Germans, by birth or immediate descent.

The reconstruction of the Union on the basis of Slavery is the real aim of the chiefs of the Southern rebellion, which reconstruction would give them a government similar in its essential features to that of ancient pagan Rome, and a government, if the States held together. with this theory, not merely to cut themselves loose

government similar in its essential features to that of ancient pagan Rome, and a government, if the States held together, prepared for fature conquest. The Union reconstructed, it could proceed to the conquest of Mexico and Central America, and reduce their negro and colored populations to Slavery, which would be counted their Americanization. This done, it could proceed, beginning with Cuba, to the annaxation, one after another, of the West India Islands. It then could extend its power over the whole continent of South America, and threaten an advance upon Eastern Asia, and the annexation of all the cotton-producing countries and tropical regions of the globe, and through the monopoly of cotton, rice, and tropical productions in general, to obtain the control of the commerce and credit of all cations. Such, to a greater or less extent, is the dream which Southern statemen have indulged, and which they have taken the first step toward real-axing. In its full extent no sane man supposes the dream practicable; but its practicability, up to a cersin point, has been demonstrated by the success which has hitherto attended the rebellion, for, up to the present, successful it undeniably has been. The Confederates have brought into the field a more effective, if not a larger force than the Federal Government has thus far brought against them; and, from the Potomac to the Mississippi, they hold the

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being performed by answer, and the greater part in the total child performed by answer and the properties of liberty so dearly to singleys, and personal neglection of the bear and the properties of the performed perf

Order," or you will not stir their heart, that mighty of American heart which conquered this country from the savage and the forest, proclaimed and won its independence, constituted the Union, and made the American nation one of the great nations of the earth. It is not for us, even if we were able, to give it that battle-cry; it must be given by genius in authority, and fall either from the lips of the President or the Commander-in-Chief of our armies. Neither may as yet be prepared to utter it; but, if this nation has a future, if its destiny is, as we have hitherto boasted, to prove what man may be when and where he has the liberty to be himself, uttered by one or the other it ere long will be, and in tones that will ring out through the whole Union, and through the whole civilized world now enxiously listening to hear it. The Union is and must be sacred to liberty. Here man must be man, nothing more, and nothing less. Slaves must not breathe our atmosphere; and we must be able to adopt the proud boast of our mother country, "the slave that touches our soil is free." This is the destiny our fathers tolled for, fought for, bled for, and to this we their children must swear to be faithful, or die to the last man.

We have swoken thus far as the American, the

obtain the countroid of the commerce and credit of all eations. Such, to a greater or less extent, is the dream which the law of self-preservation and which Southern statemen have indulged, and which they have taken the first step toward real-sing. In its full extent no sane man supposes the commerce and that we are in war, and to let it go the dream practicable; but its practicability, up to a cerain point, has been demoustrated by the success which has hitherto attended the rebellion, for, up to the present, successful its undentably has been. The Confederates have brought into the field a more effective, if not a larger force than the Federal Government has thus far brought against them; and, from the Protomac to the Mississippi, they hold the strategic lines, and can be met by the Federal forces only at great disadvantage, as yet not one of those shipsette has been wrested from them.

Now, suppose we adopt the policy urged upon no sine of the conducted to a successful season and the means which the law of self-preservation of peace, it is the distance of the present of the present

manfally to the end, and teach rebellion a lesson that it will not soon forget.

We love peace as much as any man does or can, and no man, in proportion to his means, suffers more by the present war than we do. But the Scriptures tell us, "Follow after the things which make for peace"—not peace at any price; and, now that we are in war, we insist on proceeding it till the basis of an honorable and durable peace can be obtained. The recognition of the Southern Confederacy and disbandment of our armies would not, as we have shown, secure this peace; because the project of the Southern leaders is not merely a separation from the Union, but a reconstruction of the Union under their control on the basis of Slavery. Are we asked, Why not quietly submit to the reconstruction demanded? Would there not still be a union of the States under a Federal Government? And suppose that it did recognize Slavery; what harm in that? Nearly all the States once held slaves, and the Southern States have grown and prospered, become great to the greatness, strength, and prosperity of the South, but has been the basis of the commercial and mannfacturing prosperity of the North; why, then, should the North oppose it, or hesitate to adopt it? Would the North oppose it, or hesitate to adopt it?

tachment to the Union, in which we were tachment to the Union, in which we were tachment to the Union, in which we were tachment to the Union, in which we will see and the output of another Government. For ourselves, we were born an American citizen, and, wherever the vicissitudes of life may cast our lot, an American citizen we will die, and no consideration under heaven shall ever induce as to abjure allegiance to the Federal Government, or swear allegiance to any other sovereign. Except or swear allegiance to any other sovereign. Except to a swear allegiance to any other sovereign to the find the following the first of the first of

to the greatness, strength, and prosperity of the South, but has been the basis of the commercial and manufacturing prosperity of the North; why, then, should the North oppose it, or hesitate to adopt it? The Union reconstructed on the basis of Slavery would be far greater, more homogeneous, stronger, and more prosperous than it has ever hitherto been; and the reconstruction demanded is not merely in the interest of the South, but in the interest of the whole country; why not, then, accept it? So we have found men not in a madhouse reasoning here at the North, and so, perhaps, some misguided citizens really believe.

We reply to this reasoning—I. The reconstruction proposed would be the destruction of the present Union, of the Union affected by our fathers, and indeed of the nation which it formed hitherto symbolized by the." Stars and Stripes." It would be the destruction of our present nation, and, at best, only the substitution of another nation in its place. Now, it so happens that many of me have an arcent attachment to the Union, in which we were born, and under which we have thus far lived, and do not choose to exputriate ourselves, or to be forced to become the subject of another Government. For ourselves, we were born an American citizen, and, wherever the viciesitudes of life may cast our lot.

and no consideration under beavers shall ever induced to a beginning to the property of the pr